

## Message Text

SECRET

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20

ACTION NEA-06

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 INR-05 IO-03 NSC-05 NSCE-00 PM-03

DODE-00 SP-01 PRS-01 CIAE-00 ( ISO ) W

----- 013756

R 051050Z APR 75

FM AMEMBASSY ABU DHABI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2788

INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

AMEMBASSY DOHA

AMEMBASSY JIDDA

AMEMBASSY KUWAIT

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MANAMA

AMEMBASSY MUSCAT

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

S E C R E T ABU DHABI 0719

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, TC, US, XT

SUBJ: MIDDLE EAST SITUATION FROM UAE PERSPECTIVE

REF: (A) ABU DHABI 701 (B) ABU DHABI 632

FOLLOWING DRAFTED BY AMBASSADOR PRIOR HIS DEPARTURE FROM COUNTRY  
APRIL 3.

1. UAE OFFICIALDOM AND PUBLIC HAS THUS FAR REACTED -- AT LEAST  
OUTWARDLY -- IN RESTRAINED MANNER TO SUSPENSION OF KISSINGER  
MISSION. THERE IS, NEVERTHELESS, UNDERCURRENT OF CONCERN AND  
TENSION APPARENT IN SOBER MANNER BOTH SHAIKH ZAYID AND HIS  
FOREIGN MINISTER REACTED TO DEVELOPMENT. BOTH SEEMED WILLING  
TO CREDIT SECRETARY WITH HAVING MADE MAXIMUM PERSONAL EFFORT,

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BUT AT SAME TIME IT IS CLEAR THAT NEITHER BELIEVES U.S. HAS

BROUGHT ITS RESOURCES FULLY TO BEAR ON SITUATION. WHILE I BELIEVE BOTH MEN HAVE REASONABLY PERCEPTIVE UNDERSTANDING OF DIFFICULTIES INVOLVED FOR U.S. IN TRYING TO MAKE HEADWAY, LIKE ARABS EVERYWHERE THEY CANNOT ACCEPT THESIS THAT U.S. CANNOT IMPOSE ITS WILL ON ISRAEL IF IT REALLY WANTED TO.

2. WE ATTRIBUTE CALMNESS OF REACTION SO FAR TO NUMBER OF FACTORS. WE HAVE NOT HAD CHANCE TO GET READING ON WHAT LINE EGYPTIANS AND SYRIANS ARE PUTTING OUT LOCALLY, BUT AT LEAST SO FAR AS EGYPTIANS ARE CONCERNED, IT IS PROBABLY IN CONFORMITY WITH MODERATION OF SADAT'S SPEECH TO NBLIONAL ASSEMBLY. SADAT'S STARTLING DECISION TO REOPEN SUEZ CANAL, MODERATION OF NOISES EMANATING FROM ISRAEL, AND NUMEROUS PRESS REPORTS SUGGESTING THAT DOORS OF DIPLOMACY ARE STILL OPEN, HAS PROBABLY GIVEN UAE IMPRESSION THERE IS STILL SOMETHING COOKING, IN SPIKE OF SECRETARY'S DECISION TO SUSPEND MISSION. WE MOREOVER DETECT AS YET NO QUOTE WAR FEVER UNQUOTE BUILDING UP HERE, ABSENCE OF WHICH WOULD APPEAR TO REFLECT CAUTIOUS LINE THAT DIPLOMATS AND EMISSARIES OF FRONT-LINE STATES ARE PROBABLY TAKING HERE.

3. WE BELIEVE THERE IS ANOTHER FACTOR AS WELL AT WORK HERE. IT IS CLEAR FROM MY CONVERSATIONS WITH PRESIDENT ZAYID AND FON MIN SUWAIDI THAT THEY ARE PERSUADED (A) THAT KISSINGER'S NEGOTIATIONS BROKE DOWN BECAUSE OF ISRAELI UNREASONABLENESS, AND (B) THE U.S. IS SORE AT ISRAEL AS A RESULT. WE ARE TAKING PAINS AS AN EMBASSY NOT TO ADD TO THIS IMPRESSION, BUT ITCIS NEVERTHELESS THERE. THE FON MIN NOTED SENTENCE IN OUR INSTRUCTIONS PRAISING SADAT FOR HIS PART IN NEGOTPTIONS, AND ASKED ME TO GO OVER IT SECOND TIME. THEY HAVE ALSO UNDOUBTEDLY NOTED PRESIDENTCKOREQJS COMMENT THAT ISRAEL COULD HAVE BEEN MORE FLEXIBLE (AS WELL AS FACT UNDER SECRETARY SISCO CHOSE TO REITERATE PRESIDENT'S COMMENT IN INTERVIEW), TOGETHER WITH COMMENTARY FROM RESPECTED JOURNALISTS SUCH AS RESTON ALONG SIMILAR LINES. UAEG PROBABLY SEES HOPE THAT, AT LONG LAST, U.S. IS DISILLUSIONED WITH ISRAELI QUOTE STUBBORNESS UNQUOTE AND READY TO TRANSLATE THIS DISILLUSIONMENT INTO POLICY PENALTIES THAHUWILL MAKE ISRAEL QUOTE SEE THE LIGHT UNQUOTE.

4. WE THEREFORE BELIEVE UAEG, ALONG WITH OTHEKN ARAB GOVERNMENT, WILL BE WATCHING WASHINGTON CLOSELY IN WEEKS  
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AHEAD TO SEE WHAT QUOTE POLICY ASSESSMENT UNQUOTE AMOUNTS TO. UAEG WOULD, ABOVE ALL, LIKE TO SEE SUCCESSFUL RESOLUTION OF ARAB-ISRAEL PROBLEM, AND SHORT OF THAT HAS NO DESIRE MOVE INTO STATE OF CONFRONTATION WITH U.S. -- RELATIONS WITH WHICH IT VALUES -- WHENEVER ARAB-ISRAEL SITUATION REACHES CRISIS PHASE. AT SAME TIME IT WILL NOT BE SATISFIED WITH VERBALIZATIONS, BUT AS SHAIKH ZAGID TOLD ME OTHER DAY, WANTS TO SEE U.S. POLICY STATEMENTS TRANSLATED INTO ACTION. UAEG

WILL BE BITTERLY DISILLUSIONED IF PATTERN OF PAST IS REPEATED  
WHEREBY U.S., UNABLE TO MAKE HEADWAY IN NEGOTIATION

RETREATS INTO POSTURE OF GIVING ISRAEL EVERYTHING IT WANTS,  
SIMPLY BECAUSE MAJORITY OF CONGRESSMEN FEEL MORE CONFORTABLE  
WITH IT THAT WAY. IF THIS HAPPENS -- IF THERE IS ONCE AGAIN  
THE SENSE IN WASHINGTON THAT THE PRESIDENT AND DEPARTMENT ARE  
LOSING CONTROL OVER U.S. ACTIONS ON THE ARAB-ISRAEL SITUATION --  
WE WOULD EXPECT OUR INTERESTS HERE TO UNDERGO RAPID EROSION.  
UNTIL THAT HAPPENS, HOWEVER, SHAIKH ZAYID SEEMS TO WANT TO  
GIVE THE U.S. SOME TIME, AND THE BENEFIT OF THE DOUBT.  
PEALE

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NNN

## Message Attributes

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